2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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nesian ideas. Each of these epochs left a deep mark in Balinese ritual; to the native Balinese cults of ancestors, of the elements, and of evil spirits, were added the sacrifices of blood and the practices of black magic of the Tantric Buddhists, the Vishnuite cult of the underworld, Brahmanic juggling of mystic words and cabalistic syllables, the cremation of the dead, and so forth, all, however, absorbed and transformed to the point of losing their identity, to suit the temper of the Balinese.

It is true that Hindu gods and practices are constantly in evidence, but their aspect and significance differ in Bali to such an extent from orthodox Hinduism that we find the primitive beliefs of a people who never lost contact with the soil rising supreme over the religious philosophy and practices of their masters. Like the Catholicism of some American Indians, Hinduism was simply an addition to the native religion, more as a decoy to keep the masters content, a strong but superficial veneer of decorative Hinduistic practices over the deeply rooted animism of the Balinese natives.

Religion is to the Balinese both race and nationality; a Balinese loses automatically the right to be called a Balinese if he changes his faith or if a Balinese woman marries a Mohammedan, a Chinese, or a Christian, because she takes leave forever of her own family gods when she moves into her husband's home and instead worships his gods from that time on. The religious sages, the Brahmanic priests, remain outsiders, aloof from the ordinary Balinese, who have their own priests, simple people whose office is to guard and sweep the community temples, in which there are no idols, no images of gods to be worshipped. These temples are frequented by the ancestral gods, who are supposed to occupy temporarily the little empty shrines dedicated to them, when visiting their descendants. The Balinese live with their forefathers in a great family of the dead and the living, and it would be absurd for them to try to make converts of another nationality, since the ancestors of the converts would still remain of another race apart.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 184 In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kembar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

*845 184 56A 58? [787] Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kembar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

*845 [554] 184 58? In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to census the Jabă are 93 %, the Triwangsă 6 %, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *bunching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know". [183]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

triwangsâ people (high caste, Brahman, Satryê, or Wêsyâ), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulêlêng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabâ-Kabâ, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudrâ's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padanda:

If in Bali Sudrâ people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Taboen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*, p. 136 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

admitted that their rules were obsolete, "for tigers are now too hard to find. The rhinoceros, they said, must have come from Java (which means to the Balinese any country outside of Bali), for it has never been known in Bali.

After the naming of the various sorts of *charu's* the Tonjā lontar straightway gives a *mantrā* or prayer to the *kalā butā*, the demons. This, with the *mantrā* to Siwā which comes at the end, the Sĕngguhu was unwilling to read out, whether from ignorance of the old language or from fear of the consequences should the magic words be sounded under inappropriate circumstances, I was unable to discover. The lontar is considered very sacred, and offerings had to be made before it could be 'opened'. After the prayer to the demons, the lontar continues:

"This is the law for wrong birth, *bunching kĕmbar* female-male, they must be banished by the villagers to the big crossroads for forty-two days, they must pay for the set of offerings. The offerings are given at the Balé Agung to purify the country, offered to all the gods. The gods are placed on the Balé Panjang (the Balé Agung, here denoting the long platform, to distinguish it from the temple which is called after it Purā Balé Agung). All the Pĕmangkus are called. All the people must make offerings to all the gods in the temples *dĕsa* (= Balé Agung), *dalĕm*, *pusĕh*, *pĕnataran*, *mĕlanting ring pasar* (the market.) When the gods come out, an uncastrated pig must be sacrificed before the big inner gate of the temple.

"This is the story if anyone has twins born *bunching kĕmbar*, exactly as these letters have given it. If anyone does not follow it he will have twins *bunching* again. Beware lest he have them three times."

A *mantrā* to Siwā ends the lontar.

The Balinese, as a people in great part illiterate, have an exaggerated respect for the written word. They take the lontars most seriously, considering the prescriptions voiced in them to be as law — a law sometimes obsolete, obscure, unexplainable, but still holding in its content the right way. This in spite of the many disparities which, as

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

we have found, exist between one text and another, and the illogical, confused order, even contradictions, appearing within a single text. It is to be said, however, that there is no reason why the texts originating in different districts should coincide, for these were in the old days under the rule of different princes. As the years went by each royal family developed its laws independently, and as we have seen, the people considered the laws for *manak salah* to come from the king. And the custom within individual villages would tend to take on its own character, for there was and still is little connection between the doings of one village and the next. The position of the Sĕngguhu is curious, for as these priests are rare, they generally have to be called from a distant village to officiate in the village where they are needed. Then, although they may have their own rules to be followed, they merely play their role according to the custom of the village which has engaged them. In Taro, where twins were born three times within two years because the disaster occurred in three different families, each of these chose to call in a different Sĕngguhu priest. But the way of the ceremony remained the same, following the laws of Taro. So that in the case of the lontar of the Sĕngguhu in Tonjă, it is possible that it would never be referred to except when *manak salah* happened in that very village.

Out of the confusion which a study of a single ritual has shown to exist in Bali, I can draw no conclusions. I can only hope that scholars on examining the data will find it useful in reconstructing a picture of the early culture of Bali, and by comparison with other material be able to judge whether or not the roots of the custom pertaining to twins lie in pre-Hindu times.

Sayan, Bali, Sept. 1, 1934.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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He will drive tirelessly for several hundred miles, and cheerfully apply himself to any necessary repairs in a breakdown. But if after a short journey he is asked to lift out a parcel from the car, he calls another to do it for him—a very unusual thing in Balinese who are not of high caste, as they are universally reluctant to ask their equals to serve them. Another unusual quality is his lack of the sense of relaxation common to most Balinese. Generally they will sit for hours without impatience, waiting for something to happen, and they seem to find pleasant the state of doing nothing. Often they drop off to sleep. But Madé could not be left alone for ten minutes in a car; he would be off on some errand of his own, to bargain for coconuts or to flirt with some pretty girl at a market stall. He took rebukes from his masters with ill grace, flaring up in insolence, or sulking and glowering to himself. To cover up his impetuosity and his shirking of explicit orders, he developed habits of dishonesty. All these things caused him to make an unsatisfactory chauffeur, and he repeatedly lost his position, whether he worked for Europeans, or for Chinese or Arab car owners. He is an impulsive spender, vain about his costume and the prestige afforded him by his possessions. The money that he earns is soon gone, and he will probably never save enough, as many of the young men do, to buy a secondhand car of his own. This is the case of an unusually ill-adapted Balinese. It is curious to note that such a type cannot adjust itself to the new order any more than to the old. He makes many friends and many enemies among the Balinese. Men and women respond to his spontaneous charm, his vivacity and gayety as a companion. But in his friendly relations he is always getting into trouble, for he will not stick to the rules of the game.

The Force of Tradition

It is in contemplating the character of such a man that one realizes, in contrast, how closely the majority of the Balinese do conform to the scheme laid down by tradition, and how well-mannered, balanced, and relaxed they appear. The babies do not cry, the small boys do not fight, the young girls bear themselves with decorum, the old men dictate with dignity. Every one carries out his appointed task, with respect for his equals and superiors, and gentleness and consideration for his dependents. The people adhere, apparently with ease, to the laws governing the actions, big and small, of their lives. Since the material conditions of their existence have remained for

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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he is able to wait for long periods without showing impatience, and to accept with composure frustration of his plans, saying simply, "It did not happen." It may be said that the agricultural way of life, requiring suitable physical exertion, and producing in a direct way the food supply, so that there may be no anxiety about it for anyone, contributes to the mental poise of the people; also that the children are surrounded with affection, and given very early a part in the work of the family group, so that they grow up feeling beloved and useful, which gives to them as individuals a sense of security. And because the rules for orientation, posture, facial expression, speech, and so forth are so universally accepted, they soon become habitual, and are carried out automatically by the people without any conscious application, without any of the strain which they would cause to us. The immutability of all the laws of conduct relieves the individual of any responsibility except that of obeying them. He does not doubt their rightness, since they have always been so. And since they are his habits, he does not have even to think of them. Beyond this, his only cares are specific misfortunes, which may always occur, but which he considers outside his power to control. Illness, flood, and famine, these are signs of the anger of the gods, and of the dominance, for the time, of the forces of evil. The religious concepts make the cause clear, and they supply, too, the remedy. Offerings must be prepared, purifications and celebrations carried out, for the propitiation of the demons and the glorification of the gods. Although it may seem to us that the Balinese lives in ever present fear of demons and of evil spirits, the strain is actually not great because the remedy is known and prescribed. Even in some cases charged with much superstitious fear, such as the birth of unlucky twins or the occurrence of certain forms of incest, when the entire village is rendered unclean, tradition takes care of the wrong by requiring temporary banishment of the offenders and elaborate purification rituals. In this way the burden of responsibility is lifted from the offenders and their fellow-villagers who are affected. Tradition tells them what to do in compensation for the wrong. When it is done, no weight of sin or guilt rests on the individual. He has in such matters, as in all other aspects of his life, no choice, no decisions to be made, only the responsibility to maintain the order which he and his society consider established and proved. To judge how suitable and how desirable is such an order,

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structures we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tibingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area bale are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former ritual or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies

1:Alkema & Bezemer--576 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Sundanese OE7
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Sumba OF17

[516 cont.]

Sn 286 353 A very old Sundanese fabric is the kain kasang, which is used as a wall covering, but only in the remote districts. This cloth is now produced only in Djampang-koelon (Soekaboemi) and southern Banten. There are two types of kasang, a western and an eastern. The first consists of strips sewed round and round to one another, woven in plain red or blue cotton; the latter, brownish-red in background, exhibits a fantastic pattern because the warp threads are only partly dyed prior to being woven. The width of a kasang is never more than an ell (1).

1. B. Alkema, Chapter "De Soendaneezen [The Sundanese]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, II, p. 252.

I 286 501 227 Agel is still woven in little pieces the length of the agel leaf, which are later sewed together. They serve for sails and for nets, formerly probably also for clothing.

B 286 183 Besides the cloth given the double ikat treatment in Tenganan, there are fabrics on Bali, like the Palembang cloth, with an ikat woof. In the Balinese fabrics, yellow is an especially popular color. The Balinese in general are fond of bright, gay colors.

Sm 286 531 The Sumba fabrics are the best in the Timor Archipelago. Here, too, there are patterns that are reserved for the princes alone. The respectfully raised hands of the human figures, depicted as a row of slaves with the form of the ribs clearly delineated, are intended to demonstrate, as it were, that neither outwardly nor inwardly is there anything present among the subjects that shows bad intentions toward the prince.

In contrast with these cloths there are those with self-confident figures: the hands down; the heads covered with large hats; horses on which human figures are balanced in a standing position; horned rams which are being pecked by grallatorial birds. All this points to the rulers. The beauty of the Sumba fabrics, however, lies in the rich shades of coloring. "A yellow